

Stephen F. Austin State University

SFA ScholarWorks

Library Faculty and Staff Presentations

Ralph W. Steen Library

12-6-1997

The Rest of The Kingdom on the Mississippi: Mormon Settlement Patterns in Illinois 1838-1846

R Philip Reynolds

Stephen F. Austin State University, preynolds@sfasu.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/libfacpres>



Part of the [History of Religion Commons](#), [Social History Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

[Tell us](#) how this article helped you.

Repository Citation

Reynolds, R Philip, "The Rest of The Kingdom on the Mississippi: Mormon Settlement Patterns in Illinois 1838-1846" (1997). *Library Faculty and Staff Presentations*. 17.
<https://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/libfacpres/17>

This Presentation is brought to you for free and open access by the Ralph W. Steen Library at SFA ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Library Faculty and Staff Presentations by an authorized administrator of SFA ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact cdsscholarworks@sfasu.edu.

**The Rest of The Kingdom on the Mississippi:
Mormon Settlement Patterns in Illinois 1838-1846**

**PAPER PRESENTED AT THE
ILLINOIS HISTORY SYMPOSIUM**

R PHILIP REYNOLDS

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

DECEMBER 1997

Mormon settlement outside of Nauvoo, Illinois is one of the most neglected topics in Mormon history. Most discussion concerning Mormons between 1839 and 1846 is limited to Nauvoo although, as one researcher put it: "Mormon contact in Illinois was infinitely larger."¹ After further investigation these settlements emerge as being far more important to Mormon history and the city of Nauvoo than this neglect suggests.

The consensus is that Mormonism's founder and prophet Joseph Smith directed a grand plan of colonization in Illinois starting with the establishment of Nauvoo and then expanding from that center into other parts of the state. Smith's "Spokes of the Wheel" analogy of 1843, has provided the basis for this model of Mormon settlement patterns. In the spokes of the wheel statement Smith described Nauvoo as the hub or center of Mormon settlements.² Unfortunately this model fails to account for the fact that the origins of a vast majority of Mormon settlements in Illinois trace back to before Smith's escape from Missouri in the spring of 1839.³ Ultimately most settlements resulted from three causes, Mormon interaction and experience with Illinois before their expulsion from Missouri, proselyting successes, and overwhelming economic need. I will briefly mention these influences while focusing on economic needs.

Early Beginnings

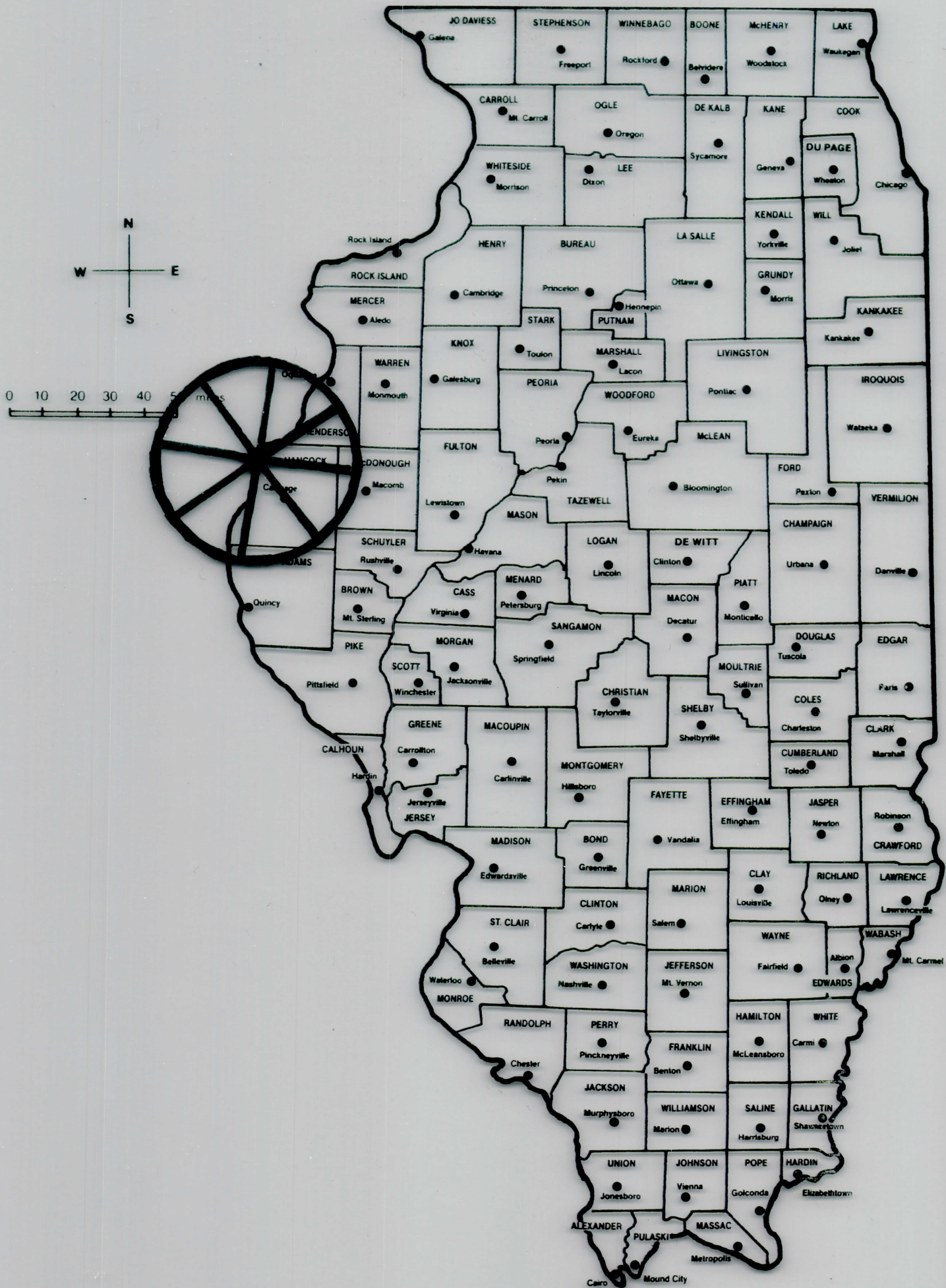
Mormonism's introduction to Illinois came during the earliest days of the church's existence.⁴ Smith received a revelation stating that Jackson County Missouri was to be the site of the New Jerusalem. This revelation also contained instructions for

some Mormons to move to Missouri, and prepare for Christ's return.⁵ With this revelation Illinois became a part of Mormon history, not as a site for settlement but as an obstacle to be overcome on their way to the promised land. Mormons by the hundreds and later thousands flocked to Missouri to fulfill the divine mandate and to build Zion with millennial expectations. As Mormon missionaries and settlers traveled to Missouri they shared their beliefs with those they met along the way. Some of their successes immediately prior to the Missouri expulsion, created a foundation of converts around which later Mormon settlements formed.⁶

Zion's and Kirtland's Camps

In 1834 Smith raised two groups of armed men known as Zion's Camp, to travel from Ohio to Missouri to protect the Mormon settlements there. The most important role of Zion's Camp in relation to later settlement, was its introduction of many Mormons to Illinois and the establishment of a migration route followed by later Mormons.⁷

In 1838 another group known as Kirtland's Camp, followed the Zion's camp route through Illinois in 1838 from Kirtland Ohio to Far West Missouri. This "camp" contained Mormon families and lacked the military overtones of Zion's Camp. However, Kirtland's Camps left behind an important legacy. Along the way many in the group became too ill to continue. This, coupled with a lack of money, forced camp members to leave some families behind in places where they could find work. The first group to stay behind in Illinois established a branch near Amboy. The second group



established a branch in Springfield. A third group chose to leave the camp in Pike County Illinois. Later all three of these groups formed the nucleus of a Stake or Mormon settlement.⁸

Problems in Illinois

Before the Mormon's arrival, Illinois went through a period of extensive land speculation and town planning. "Paper Towns" or towns that only existed on a map in a county courthouse or a speculator's pocket covered the imaginary future landscape of Illinois. By 1836 town mania reached a fever pitch. However, before any of these towns could become a reality they needed an infrastructure to support them. Speculators and legislators conceived a grand plan of internal improvements to link all parts of the state. Unfortunately this scheme drove the state into a disastrous debt immediately before the crash of 1837.⁹

It was into these circumstances the Mormons arrived in 1838. The state was in desperate need of tax revenue and many of its leading citizens walked with town plats in their pockets that they desperately needed to sell. It is not at all surprising that they welcomed the Mormons. Communities actually competed with each other to attract the recent arrivals. Many hoped that the Mormons could provide economic relief.¹⁰

Exodus From Missouri

As Illinois' financial crisis developed, the Mormons faced difficulties of their own. In 1838 with the issuance of Missouri Governor William Boggs's Extermination Order anti-Mormon mobs wreaked havoc on Mormon settlements. In early November of 1838 Joseph Smith agreed to a surrender of Mormon forces to the state militia. On the

night of the surrender the exodus began. Many men who had fought against the Missouri militia fled to avoid prosecution and retribution. They were the first to leave.¹¹

The wealthier members of the Church were the next group to leave. Some who owned land in Missouri and had sufficient cash to leave traded their farms for property in Illinois. They then moved to their new farms and remained there until the next exodus in 1846. Quincy, became the main gathering place for the refugees. The people of Quincy received the Mormons with kindness. Soon the Mormons stretched Quincy's resources to the limit. Eventually, as more Saints poured into the city, those who had the means traveled into the interior of the state to make room for new arrivals.¹²

As spring approached it became apparent that those who had not already done so needed to purchase land to plant their crops. Those with the capital began to investigate offers from local speculators. Edward Partridge, the presiding bishop of the Church, described the situation in a letter to Smith in Liberty jail.

This place is full of our people, yet they are scattering off nearly all the while. I expect to start tomorrow for Pittsfield, Pike County, Illinois, about forty-five miles southeast from this place. Brother George W. Robinson told me this morning that he expected that his father-in-law Judge Higbee, and himself would go on a farm about twenty miles northeast from this place. Some of the leading men have given us (that is our people) an invitation to settle in and about this place. Many no doubt will stay here.¹³

By April 1839 most of the Mormons were out of Missouri. They now faced the daunting task of rebuilding their Church and their lives. Mormons lay scattered over a wide area. Several communities received exiles either directly or by way of

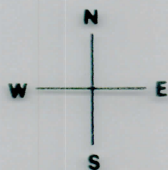
Quincy. Mormons settled in Quincy, Pittsfield, Alton, Springfield, Geneva, Plymouth, LaHarpe, Keokuk, Fort Madison, and many other locations throughout Illinois and Iowa.¹⁴

From his cell in Liberty Jail Smith had difficulty in guiding the Saints. However, he did suggest that they should "lay hold of every door that shall seem to be opened unto them,"¹⁵ and they did. The Saints responded to their Prophet's counsel by settling wherever they could find employment or land that they could afford.¹⁶

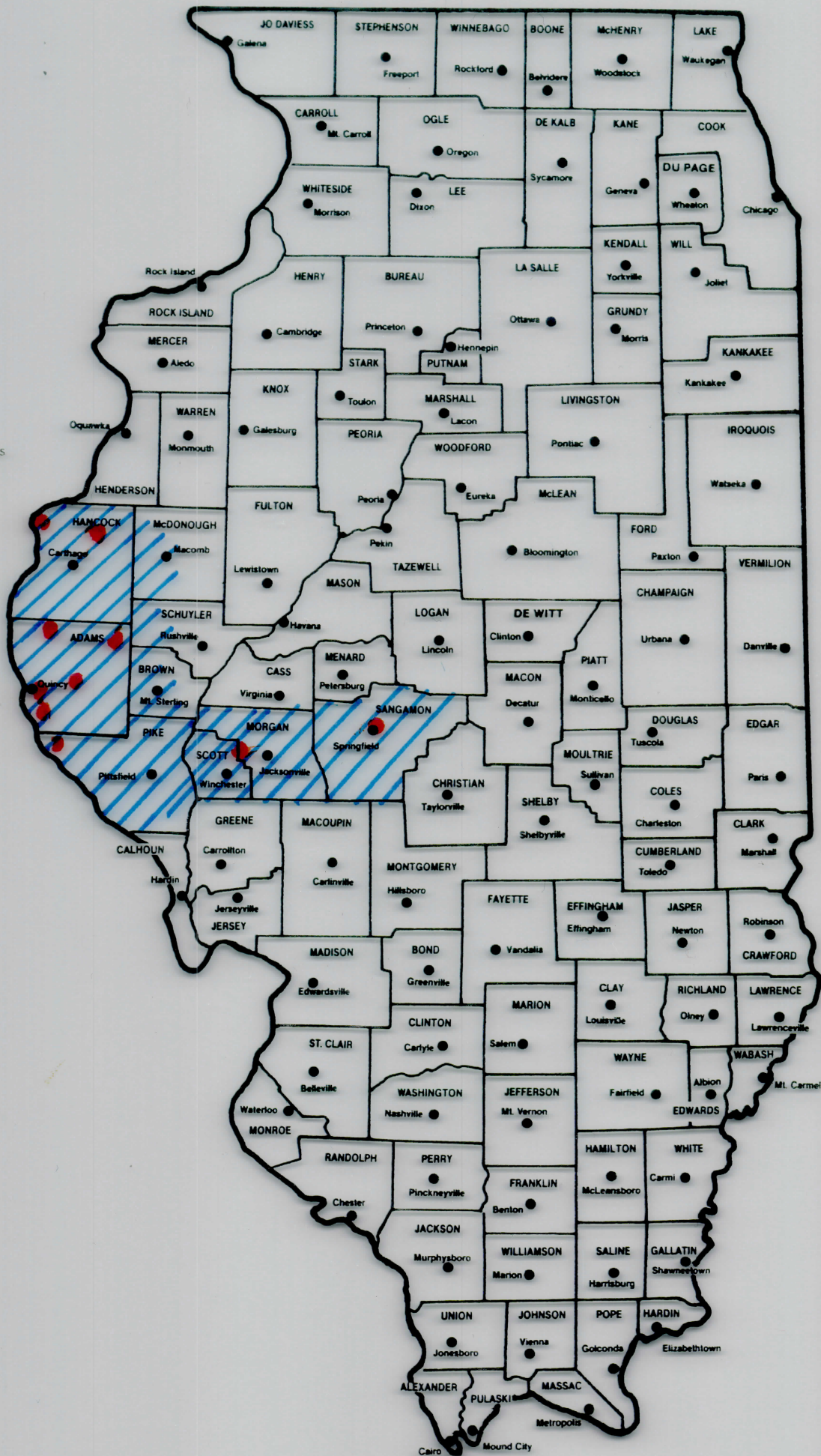
Purchase of Commerce

In April of 1839 the long awaited arrival of the prophet promised to bring an end to the confusion.¹⁷ Smith's subsequent purchase of Commerce and the Half-breed tracts appears to have been the result of economic need rather than careful deliberation. Quincy continued to strain under the burden of its recent arrivals. There was a shortage of jobs and housing for the refugees. One of the most attractive features of Isaac Galland's (a local land speculator) offer for Commerce was no requirement for cash or even a down payment, which the Mormons, in their destitute condition, would have been unable to pay. With few alternatives the Saints who had not already purchased farms of their own or had not found gainful employment moved to the newly purchased land.¹⁸

Smith unofficially decided to build a city at the site and encouraged Saints to begin moving there. He related this decision not as revelation but as a good idea because there was "no more eligible place presenting itself."¹⁹ At this point Nauvoo became one gathering site among many. Several communities with large Mormon



0 10 20 30 40 50 miles



populations petitioned for consideration as stakes. Immediately after the establishment of Nauvoo Church leaders organized a committee to "Organize stakes between this place and Kirtland. . . ." ²⁰ These early Illinois stakes included Mount Ephraim, Lima, Quincy, Mount Hope, Steam Mills and Columbus, all in Adams County. Stakes were also established near Payson and Geneva in Morgan County and at Springfield in Sangamon County. ²¹ These early stakes represented the largest concentrations of Mormons after the Missouri exodus. All of them had their origins before Smith's escape from Liberty jail. ²²

These early stakes were important to Nauvoo's survival. In the early years of Nauvoo's development sickness and death ravaged the city. Small paths connected various parts of the city where families camped in shelters made of split rail fences and quilts. The death toll was tremendous. Malaria ravaged the ranks of the beleaguered Mormons. It was clear to many the difference in health between those who spent their first summer in Nauvoo and those who had settled in other areas. William Draper described this after his first visit to Nauvoo.

I went [to the conference in Commerce] and another such sight my eyes never beheld; that portion of the assembly that had lived in Commerce during the summer looked more like ghosts that had neither flesh nor blood or but very little, yet they seemed to be satisfied and glad to think they were able to attend conference. They organized the place into a stake of Zion and changed the name of the place from Commerce to that of Nauvoo, ²³

By staying clear of the city until it could be made healthier many avoided the "Mortality that almost invariably awaits. . . ." those who moved to the city.²⁴

Settlement directives changed often during the Nauvoo period. These directives are consistently described as economic necessities rather than spiritual ones.²⁵

Eventually Smith again expanded the boundaries for settlement. In March of 1843 he likened Nauvoo to the hub of a wheel. The spokes included not only the Stakes in Hancock County, and Lee County, Iowa, but also Shokokon in Henderson County, and Lima in Adams County.²⁶ The economic need to eliminate debt and support the city, required an expansion of his vision of gathering. Finally during a conference in April 1844, Smith again expanded this vision. By this time Smith seems to be thinking of expansion for expansion's sake and not just for the support of Nauvoo. Smith said that Zion included all of North and South America. Furthermore, he went on to say that after the temple was finished, the Elders of the Church would spread out and build up cities with temples all over the United States.²⁷

Establishing a Settlement

Smith's involvement with communities other than Nauvoo was very limited. A committee appointed at a general conference of the church formed the first stakes in Illinois. After the return of the twelve apostles from their mission in Europe Smith transferred responsibility for settlement to them.²⁸ Eventually a procedure, for establishing stakes and colonies emerged. By 1840 there were at least five requirements for the establishment of a stake or settlement.

1. The first requirement was that the population of official church membership in

the area must be at least 100 baptized members.²⁹

2. The second requirement was a core of trusted and experienced church leaders that could be organized into a governing body. This body included a presiding High Priest acting as a stake president who oversaw the ecclesiastical matters of the congregation, and a Bishop to control the church's property in the region. In a stake, they also appointed a high council.³⁰ For Bishops length of church service, may have been given more consideration than their relationship with the origins of the community.³¹

3. After choosing a site for a community, church leaders purchased the land. They usually purchased 160 to 180 acres in the name of the Bishop. After purchasing the land the bishop arranged for the survey of a town.³²

5. The bishop's responsibilities included caring for the poor and church buildings. Ramus has often been considered unique because of a chapel erected for worship services. While there were clearly no houses of worship in Nauvoo besides the temple, it may have been standard procedure for other settlements to build a chapel whenever possible. The stake at Pleasant Vale also constructed a chapel for worship services. After the organization of the Stake at Pleasant Vale church officials instructed Draper to "build a meeting house . . . " Accordingly the local branch built a "Frame meeting house . . . thirty-six by forty feet."³³ These chapels often doubled as school houses for the communities and resided in the center of town on lots reserved for public buildings.

Economic Troubles

As Flanders pointed out the purchase of Commerce and the half-breed tracts was clearly due to economic need. However, after the church bought these properties economic concerns continued to direct decisions about gathering and settlement. In the case of Nauvoo and the surrounding communities the primary considerations in the gathering was the economic welfare of Nauvoo and the completion of the temple. While Nauvoo might have been a "beautiful place" it was also a place of shortages. The lack of food was a constant problem. According to one historian almost every letter from the period talks of difficulties in getting enough food.³⁴ Currency was also scarce. The destitute conditions of the Mormons after their expulsion from Missouri resulted in almost no money to purchase food and other goods. Likewise, the debt incurred by the church in purchasing the city continually drained it of capital. Explosive growth added to the money shortage. Often when individuals with a significant amount of capital arrived they used their money for land speculations and house construction instead of investments in industries or mills.³⁵

The economic well being of the city was inextricably tied to the rest of the region. During this time the whole state suffered from a shortage of currency and bank failures. Nauvoo's sudden appearance and spectacular growth overwhelmed the resources of the region. Financial, political, industrial and transportation institutions which had evolved over the previous twenty years to provide for the needs of hundreds, were suddenly called upon to provide for thousands. Nauvoo or any other city of its size could not survive independent of its hinterlands. The lack of an infrastructure for such a large city in Western Illinois forced the Mormons to create

their own infrastructure. This included the use and creation of other Mormon settlements.³⁶

Mills

This lack of an industrial base is painfully evident when we look at the situation concerning grain and lumber mills. Mills were a vital part of frontier life. They ground grains into flour and cut logs into lumber. However, the subsistence economy of most frontier communities barely made the mills profitable. Individuals built mills to "principally accommodate the community," and they functioned almost as a public service. They were often community centers as well as places for work. At the time horse-powered grist mills ground eight bushels of corn in a day. Farmers sometimes would have to wait for days for their turn at the mill. As a result, mill owners often ran taverns and distilleries on the side, to provide a diversion for waiting farmers as well as earn more profit.³⁷

Because of the borderline profits of the mills, entrepreneurs constructed just enough to fulfill local needs. As a result there were just enough mills in the area of Commerce to provide for its needs as they existed prior to the Mormons arrival. With the arrival of several thousand new inhabitants in a matter of months, the demand on local mills soon overreached their capacity. In December of 1841 Smith wrote a letter describing the drastic shortage of mills, in an attempt to convince a recent convert to build a mill near the city.

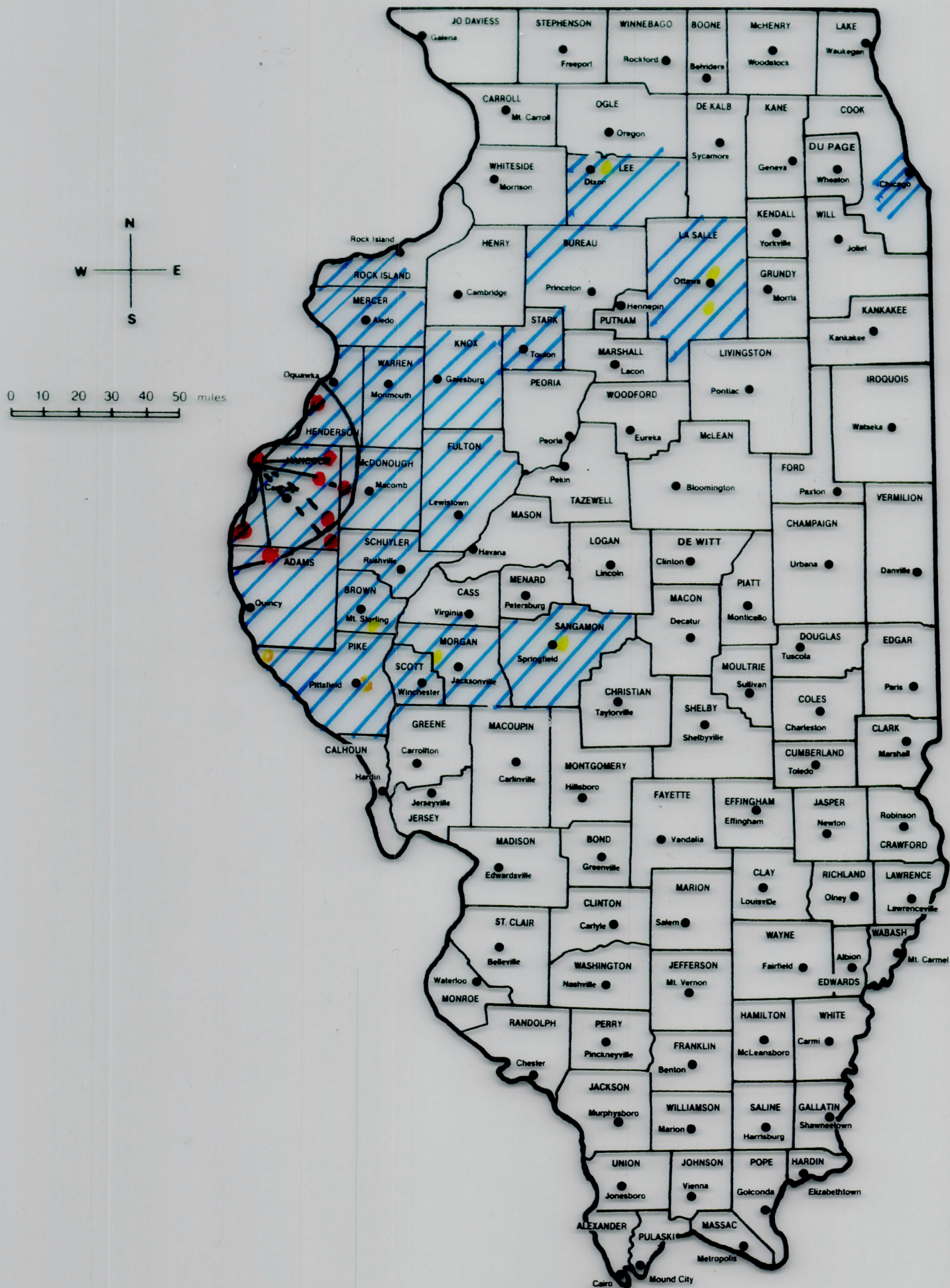
As respects steam engines and mills, my opinion is, we cannot

have too many of them. This place has suffered exceedingly from the want of such mills in our midst,.... We have no good grain or board mill in this place; and most of our flour and lumber has to be brought twenty miles; which subjects us to great inconvenience....³⁸

With the acute lack of an industrial base that evolved and grew over time to meet the needs of the community, Smith desperately needed to create one. He needed to look outside the city for help. Nauvoo depended on food and lumber harvested and milled in other communities. One of the more drastic examples of this is the settlements known as the "pineries" in Wisconsin.³⁹ Since Nauvoo's survival depended on surrounding communities these satellite communities began to take on greater significance. The acquiring of mills either through Mormon ownership or by Mormon settlement in the area became extremely important.

Ramus Illinois took on early significance in this regard. Joseph Holbrook, an elder, escaped from Missouri in March of 1839 and he took his family to Fountain Green to settle among the Saints already there. In May of the same year he visited Smith in Nauvoo. Smith asked him if he could get corn meal because "there was no one bringing in any for sale". Holbrook immediately borrowed seven dollars and purchased corn. He then milled it and sold the meal in Nauvoo. He continued this business night and day for six weeks. He was the only one selling grain to the impoverished city. Later the Stake of Ramus would become a major supplier of food for the city.⁴⁰

Mills also played an important role in the failed community of Warren. Warren



represents one of the few communities that Smith actively participated in founding.

Among the many overtures for the sale of town sites made to the saints, was one made to Smith in the fall of 1839. Daniel S. Witter owner of a mill at Warsaw along with Mark Aldrich and Calvin A. Warren negotiated with Smith until they signed an agreement around July 19 or 20.⁴¹

Smith hoped to use Warren to raise money to help pay off the debt incurred with the purchase of Nauvoo. This was to be done with profits from the sale of town lots in Warren and with lumber harvested from the purchase site. Another obvious benefit to the purchase was access to Witter's mill at Warsaw. With this in mind church leaders settled a group of 204 recent immigrants from England on the new town site.⁴²

Unfortunately Warren did not become a profitable venture. Soon after settlement word came from Isaac Decker, the presiding elder at Warsaw, of troubles at the Warren settlement. It seems that Witter, in an attempt to get out of financial difficulties of his own, raised his rates at the mill by \$1.00 a barrel for the Mormons. He also was selling his sweepings from the mill to the Mormons at \$2.50 per hundred. Given the margin on which most frontier mills operated, this sudden increase was an obvious effort at price gouging. As a result the potential benefits of Warren as a source of milled grain vanished. The other expected source of income also failed to produce the hoped for profits. Witter and Aldrich forbade the Mormons from clearing the land of its timber. At the same time timber prices at the Warsaw wharf fell twenty five cents per cord. These developments eliminated the money making potential of the site. In December of 1841 Smith recalled the Mormons at Warren and Warsaw to Nauvoo.⁴³

Smith's next venture in town building began on February 10, 1843. John B. Cowan a land speculator from Henderson County, came to Nauvoo with an offer from the inhabitants of Shokokon.⁴⁴ His mission was to "invite a talented Mormon Preacher" to "take up residence with them" the people of the town promised to provide the preacher with a good house and support. The townspeople also offered to allow the preacher to "invite as many Mormons to settle in that place as they pleased so to do".⁴⁵ What followed was several days of salesmanship by Cowan and on February 14, 1843 Smith agreed to visit the town site.

Mr. Cowan proceeded to make his sales pitch to Smith. Shokokon seemed to have all that the Mormons needed in a satellite community. One of the land owners of the town Robert McQueen owned a mill just south of town along the road between Shokokon and Nauvoo. Not only was there a mill put there was easy access to transportation. The town was the terminus of the stage line running from Macomb to the Mississippi River.⁴⁶ The sloughs in the region offered a port for river boats and for lumber floated down river from Wisconsin.

At first glance the invitation for a Mormon preacher in the area appears to be a transparent ploy to entice Smith to start sending settlers there. However, considering the problems encountered at the Warren settlement and in other states the invitation and apparent acceptance of Mormons by the local residents was a very legitimate and compelling selling point. It is doubtful that Smith failed to recognize Mr. Cowan's and his partners financial interests in inviting the Mormons to Shokokon.

Ultimately Shokokon failed. The seemingly useful access to the Mississippi was

only useable by river boats during high water. The town site which may have appeared healthy in February, in the summer turned into sickly swamp.⁴⁷ While McQueen's Mills did help alleviate the problems of Nauvoo, Shokokon never grew enough to become profitable. With the death of Smith and the subsequent violence Shokokon failed to attract a significant Mormon population.

Transportation

A transportation network was also needed to support the rapidly growing city. In the case of most cities transportation routes gradually grew along with the city. Or in the case of most boom towns they grew to meet the needs of the market that created the boom. Unfortunately Nauvoo's boom was from thousands of pauper immigrants from Missouri and England. This coupled with the state's recent fiasco with internal improvements guaranteed little or no development of transportation networks such as railroads until well into the 1850's.

One obvious exception to this lack of transportation was the interstate waterway of nineteenth century America, the Mississippi river. Nauvoo being situated on a bend in the river would seem to be in an excellent position to take advantage of river traffic. Unfortunately the river proved to be of little help and may have even been a hindrance to the city's economy.

From early in the river's history, St. Louis capitalists dominated steamboat traffic on the upper Mississippi. As a result, almost all traffic, even the local packet ships, promoted the interests of St. Louis. As a result an intricately balanced and highly competitive situation existed between river communities along the upper Mississippi.⁴⁸

While practically all steamboat traffic on the river acted to profit these St. Louis capitalists other cities along the river also benefitted from this situation because of the exports they provided for resale by St. Louis merchants. Galena occupied the northern end of this trading network and exported lead. The communities in between exported lumber, grain and other farm commodities. Unfortunately, Nauvoo had little capital and few business connections with which to take advantage of the abundance that daily floated by. At Nauvoo boat after boat arrived carrying poor immigrants from England and other parts of the United States but instead of bringing in needed capital, these new arrivals tended to lower the city's per capita income.

Nauvoo's economic immaturity also made it continually dependent on manufactured goods imported from St. Louis and agricultural goods from the surrounding countryside. These imports represented a drain on the cities meager money supply. With all the city's resources tied up in the building of houses and selling of town lots little was left over for the development of industry. Because of the city's rapid rise it failed realize the natural development of industry seen over time in other cities.

Church leaders made extensive efforts to encourage industrial growth. However, the lack of capital in Nauvoo and the state as a whole prevented the development of craft or manufactured goods in all but the largest cities. Because of Nauvoo's size they did meet with some success and there were several small manufacturers in the city. Still, Nauvoo was never able to meet its own needs let alone produce enough for export. As late as October of 1844 church leaders struggled to develop plans to salvage

Nauvoo's economy.⁴⁹

The saints cannot gather together in large numbers,... without the necessary calculations and preparations for their employment and support. Not only must farms be cultivated, houses built, and mills to grind the corn, but there must be something produced by industry, to send off to market in exchange for cash,....⁵⁰

The obvious alternative to the river for bringing goods into the city was the roads. This was not an attractive alternative because land travel on the prairie was slow and difficult. Travel times on land were often four times as long as on the rivers. A wagon carrying produce could be expected to take twelve hours to travel twenty miles. Most of what was called roads in Illinois prior to 1850 were little more than wide trails. In Western Illinois the major roads were dedicated to providing access to the main river ports of Quincy, Warsaw and Oquawkua. The roads allowed these cities to control the surrounding countryside in a way similar to how St. Louis, controlled the towns along the river.⁵¹

However, it was this alternative that helped the most to sustain the city. Prior to 1839 the road system in the Military tract focused on servicing important river ports like Warsaw, Quincy and Fort Madison. The best roads in Hancock County were the roads linking communities with the county seat at Carthage and the port at Warsaw. One important exception was a road platted in 1834 originating at Beardstown on the Illinois River passing through Macomb then Fountain Green and finally terminating at Venus (Commerce/Nauvoo) on the Iowa Rapids. This became the first and most

important artery of supplies flowing into the city. It provided access to mills and farms around Crooked Creek (Ramus) in Hancock County. As Nauvoo's needs increased it provided access to the mill at Spring Creek and the coal mines started by the Mormons near Colchester, both in McDounough County.⁵²

Mormon settlements acted as a trade network for the city. The settlements most important to the city were those located on roads linked directly to Nauvoo. Provisions from LaHarpe, Plymouth, Augusta and especially Ramus were often requested and received. All of these communities either had or developed links to the city. When combined with the communities of Shokokon and Warren we begin to see the Spokes of the Wheel talked about by Smith.

Ultimately Mormon settlement in Illinois is far more complex than previously thought. Previous models for discussing settlements outside of Nauvoo prove inadequate. Also the success of Nauvoo was intricately connected with these other settlements. This alone merits more study of these communities. Additionally, research concerning the interaction of these communities with their neighbors and with Nauvoo should shed more light on the conflict between Mormons and their neighbors. Until these communities are adequately researched our understanding of Nauvoo and of the events surrounding the Mormon's tenure in Illinois will remain incomplete.

1. Cecil A. Snider "A Syllabus on Mormonism in Illinois From the Angle of the Press" Newspaper Source materials, bound typescript, Illinois State Historical Library. Theodore L. Carlson, *The Illinois Military Tract: Study of Land Occupation, Utilization and Tenure* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1951), 80. Carlson's estimate of 15,000 for the city of Nauvoo is

consistent with most current estimates of the city. Unfortunately the 1845 Illinois State Census is missing. Population reports from the census give numbers for each county but does not give figures for individual townships or cities.

2. Joseph Smith. *An American Prophets Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith*. Ed. Scott H. Fauling. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 325.

3. ^oFor the few attempts at overviews of Mormon settlements outside of Nauvoo see Donald Q. Cannon, "Spokes on the Wheel :Early Latter-day Saint Settlements in Hancock County Illinois" *Ensign: The Ensign of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, (February 1986): 62-68. and Donald Q. Cannon, "Hancock County Illinois" in *Historical Atlas of Mormonism* ed by S. Kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon and Richard H. Jackson, (New York: Simon & Schuster 1994), 56-57. Articles discussing individual Illinois settlements are limited to Marshall Hamilton, "'MONEY-DIGGERSVILLE-' The Brief, Turbulent History of the Mormon Town of Warren" *The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 9 (1989): 49-58. and an excellent paper by Susan Sessions Rugh, "Conflict in the Countryside: The Mormon Settlement at Macedonia, Illinois" *BYU Studies* 32 (1,2) (1992): 149-174. Smith, Joseph Jr. *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Period One*. 2d ed. rev. 7 Vol. Ed. Brigham H Roberts. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 5:296. Reproduced in; ---- *LDS Historical Library CD Rom* 2nd ed. Orem, Utah: Infobases INC. 1993.

4. Smith George Albert "Manuscript History: Illinois" LDS Church Archives Salt Lake City Utah.

5. Doctrine and Covenants Section 133:4,10.

6. Smith HOC vol. 1 p. 177. *Messenger and Advocate* vol. 1 no.5, p.76, Feb. 1835, no, 6 p.93 March 1835, Vol.2 no.4. p.255. Jan. 1836. *Journal History* 31 December 1831. Clyde E. Buckingham, "Mormonism in Illinois" *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 32 (June 1939): 174-180.

7. For an account of Zion's Camp see Roger D. Launis *Zion's Camp* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1984).

8. Milton V. Backman jr. *Heavens Resound* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1983), 363-364. Smith, HOC. 3:139-140.

9. Stanley K. Schultz *Constructing an Urban Culture: American Cities and City Planning, 1800-1920* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 12-13. Thomas Ford *A History of Illinois From its Commencement as a State in 1818 to 1847* reprint

annotated by Rodney O. Davis Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 123-124. H. C. Ellsworth *Illinois in 1837 (With a Map) A Sketch of ...* (Philadelphia: S. Augustus Mitchell, 1837), map attached to inside cover.

10. Ford, 181. Alexander Davidson and Bernard Stuve *A Complete History of Illinois From 1673 to 1884 ...* (Springfield, Illinois: H. W. Rokker, Publisher 1884), 495. Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi*, (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1965), 19.

11. Joseph Smith Jr. *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Period One*. vol. 3, ed Brigham H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1974), 203-204, n. 204. Stephen C. Leseur *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri*. (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri, 1987), 169-174. William G. Hartley. "Almost Too Intolerable a Burthen": The Winter Exodus from Missouri, 1838-39" *Journal of Mormon History* 18:2 (Fall 1992): 21.

12. Hartley, 19. LeSueur, 239. James B. Allen, and Glen M. Leonard. *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2nd. ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 153. John P. Greene, *Facts Relative to the Expulsion of the Mormons or Latter-day Saints from the State of Missouri. Under the "Extermination Order"* Cincinnati Ohio: R. P. Brooks, 1839, 40. Quoted in; Hartley, 18.

13. Letter of Edward Partridge to Joseph Smith. March 5, 1839. Joseph Smith *Journal history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* microfilm Church Historical Department Salt Lake City, Utah. Reprint can be found in Smith, *HOC.*, 3:272.

14. Stanley B. Kimball, "The Mormons in Illinois, 1838-1846: A Special Introduction" *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 64 n.1 (Spring 1971): 12.

15. Smith, *HOC.* 3:298.

16. Esaias Edwards, "Autobiography (1811-1847)," Typescript BYU-S, (Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah). GOPHER Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Available from ucs2@byu.edu; INTERNET.

17. An account by Hyrum Smith of their escape from Missouri officials. Smith *HOC.*, 3:321 notes.

18. Flanders, 34.

19. Smith, *HOC.* 3:375.

20.Smith, *HOC*. 4:205.

21.Ibid., 4:233, 236, 4:205. "Journal History" 1 Nov 1841.

22.There were also significant Mormon populations in Pike County including a stake at Pleasant Vale see William Draper. *Autobiography (1807-1881)* Typescript, Provo, Utah:BYU-S. Reproduced in ---- *LDS Historical Library CD Rom 2nd ed.* (Orem, Utah: Infobases INC. 1993), 19-20. Brown, Sarah "Autobiography" typescript, found in the vertical file for *Mormons* at the Pike County Historical Society. Smith, *History*, 3:377. *Times and Seasons*, Vol.6, Pg.859-860.Jenson, Andrew *Latter-Day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia Selected Biographies: A Compilation of Selected Biographies of Prominent Men and Women in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* reprint *LDS Historical Library CD Rom 2nd ed.* (Orem, Utah: Infobases INC. 1993), s.v. SMITH, Samuel Harrison.

23.Draper., 20.

24.Joseph Smith "Letter to Horace R. Hotchkiss Esqr. Nauvoo August 25, 1841" located in the Joseph Smith Folder manuscript collection Illinois State Historical Library.

25.Smith *History*, 4:362.

26.Smith. *An American Prophets Record*. 325. Flanders, 140.

27.Letter from Brigham Young to Reuben Hedlock, Church Immigration agent in England, May 3, 1844, Reprinted in, Smith *HOC*. 6:353.

28. George Albert Smith, "History of The Church Volume C 1 Addenda to Book" manuscript: Historians Office p. 27-28 microfilm at Church Historical Department Salt Lake City Utah. It is unclear what the role of the Quorum of the Twelve's role was in settling the Saints. In August of 1841 Smith requested that the Twelve " take the burden of the business of the Church in Nauvoo, and especially as pertaining to the church lands, settling of the Saints on their arrival, and selling church lands." Young, Brigham *Brigham Young History* ed. E. Watson 1968 pg. 106. Unfortunately, access to the record of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles is restricted therefore I was unable to clear up this confusion. In view of Brigham Young's later success in Utah it seems likely that he had a very extensive role in the settlement of Illinois.

29.Draper, 19-20. *Journal History*, October 9, 1838, and February 28, 1841. Church Historical Library, Salt Lake City Utah. *Times*

and seasons article, and the History of the church incorrectly dates the Norwegian branch organization in 1844. The branch was organized in 1842 then the settlement was organized in 1844. Canute Peterson, *Story of the Life of Canute Peterson As Given by Himself and by Some Members of His Family* ed. Sally Nelson Bead 1940 p. 14. microfilm Church History Department.

30.Smith, George Albert, 27.

31.Smith HOC. 7:312.

32.La Salle County Surveyor "La Salle County Surveyor's Book, P" La Salle, Illinois p.55-56. Hancock County Surveyor's Office "Plat Record Book 1" Carthage, Illinois p.52. State of Illinois, Public Domain Land Sales Tract Record Listing: Listing in Sequence by- (Purchaser Name), (Springfield Illinois: Archives Division 1984), "Allred, William" p. 455. Pike County, Illinois Circuit Clerk, Deed Book Vol. 15, pp 421-422 entry no. 7719, microfilm at Illinois Regional Archives Depository, Northern Illinois University.

33. Draper, 20. After the Mormons departure the meeting house was moved to Cincinnati Landing along the Mississippi River and used as a warehouse. Captain M. D. Massie, *Past and Present of Pike County, Illinois* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1906), 87.

34.Kenneth W. Godfrey "Some Thoughts Regarding an Unwritten History of Nauvoo" *BYU Studies* Summer (1975), 420.

35.Flanders, 117.

36.Ibid., 227-228.

37.John Mack Faragher *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie*, (New Haven: Yale University Press 1986), 67-70.

38.Smith, 4:482.

39.Flanders, 183-185.

40.Joseph Holbrook, *The Life of Joseph Holbrook: Written by His Own Hand* photocopy of typescript found in Western Illinois University Special Collections, unaccessioned materials "Novouiana".

41.Hamilton, 54. Smith HOC, 4:470.

42.Letter of Joseph Smith to Horace R. Hotchkiss Esqr. Nauvoo August 25, 1841. Located at the Illinois State Historical

Library, manuscripts *Joseph Smith* folder. Reprint available in Smith *HOC.*, 4:406-407. Ibid., 4:460.

43. Smith *HOC.*, 4:471.

44. There are many spellings for Shokokon. I chose to use Shokokon because it seems to be the most common spelling on maps, county histories and other records from the time and is the current spelling on modern maps. However, it appears in *Illinois Place Names* as Shokoken and many Mormon sources spell it as Shokoquon. The site of Shokokon lies between the current town of Carman and the Shokokon Slough of the Mississippi River.

45. Smith, *An American Prophets Record* 301.

46. Sutton, Robert P. *Rivers, Railways, and Roads: A History of Henderson County*, (Raritan, Illinois: Henderson County Historical Society 1988), 84.

47. *History of Henderson County* (H. H Hill And Company: Chicago, 1882), 37.

48. Timothy R. Mahoney *River Towns in the Great West: The Structure of Provincial Urbanization in the American Midwest, 1820-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 122-125. also see map in Ibid., 158.

49. Ibid, 228.

50. "An Epistle of the Twelve: To the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" reprinted in Smith *HOC*, 7:280.

51. Mahoney, 128-131.

52. June Moon "*Mulrum in Parvo*" "*Much in Little*" *A History of Colchester Illinois* (Colchester, Illinois" The Colchester Chronicle, 1956), 14. "Died in Iowa" *Macomb Daily Journal* (Macomb, Illinois) 12 May 1900, 3. Schuyler County Clerk's Office "Map of Road through McDonough County to the Iowa Rapids 1834" found in Schuyler County Clerk's Subject Files, Illinois Regional Archives Depository.